background information

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PART I - THE CHURCH IN A DYNAMIC SOCIETY

(The first of a series of articles on social issues confronting the churches in preparation for the World Council's Assembly at New Delhi, Nov. 1961)

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EPARTMENT ON CHURCH AND SOCIETY
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Notes on the contents of this issue.

The first and second Assemblies of the World Council of Churches have provided opportunity for new and important statements on Christian responsibility for social questions. Both Amsterdam and Evanston are well remembered for their contribution to ecumenical social thinking. What will the churches say at the third Assembly in New Delhi in 1961? What issues in society today demand special attention at this meeting? The next several issues of Background Information are being devoted to a discussion of these questions.

This first issue begins with a brief survey of the problems as seen by the Working Committee of the Department on Church and Society. Their statement was prepared at the annual meeting last summer. We welcome comments on this preliminary examination of the issues needing attention.

One of the major social problems for peoples everywhere is the rapidly changing pattern of urban-rural development and its effects. This takes different forms in different situations. Dr. Robert Lee who writes about urban-rural change in the U.S.A. is lecturer in Church and Community at the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Mr. Henry Makulu, a Christian layman attached to the Mindolo Ecumenical Centre in Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, writes about the same problem from an African perspective, while Prof. M. Sumiya, professor of Economics at Tokyo University, examines the history of urban development in Japan.

Another important issue for modern society is dealt with by the Rev. Malcolm Boyd in his article on Freedom of Choice for the Individual and the Threat of the Hidden Persuaders. Mr. Boyd is a priest of the Episcopal Church, U.S.A. Prior to ordination he worked for ten years in Hollywood and New York in the field of advertising, public relations, motion pictures, and television, and is the author of several books on the problem of communication in the modern world. He is now Episcopal chaplain at Colorado State University.

Finally, we are pleased to publish an article from Prof. Kenneth Boulding on some of the ethical issues in agricultural price supports, seen both as a national and an international problem. Prof. Boulding is professor of Economics at the University of Michigan, but writes from Jamaica where he is temporarily acting head of the Department of Economics of the University of the West Indies. Dr. Boulding is world famous for his economic writing and research.

In our next number we shall continue our series of articles on this theme.

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STATEMENT REGARDING THE POST-ASSEMBLY PROGRAMME OF THE DEPARTMENT ON CHURCH AND SOCIETY

The Working Committee on Church and Society at its meeting in 1959 made a first effort to outline a programme for the period after the next Assembly. It could not at this stage go into details. For one thing, the preparations for the Assembly, which also began in 1959, may give a certain new impetus or direction which will require following up. Nevertheless, in looking forward to its task beyond the Assembly, the Committee put down some preliminary thoughts. What follows is only an outline of possible lines of work.

I. Continuation of the Rapid Social Change Study

In view of the recommendations from the Thessalonica conference on Christian Action in Rapid Social Change and the decisions of the Working Committee itself, it is clear that the study on the Common Christian Responsibility Toward Areas of Rapid Social Change will have to continue after the next Assembly in some form or other. No doubt this will be in such a form that regional and national churches and Christian groups will have a large responsibility, but some responsibilities will remain with this committee. There will be need for coordination of regional activity and the stimulation of study in new areas as well as some ecumenical direction.

In addition, the Department on Church and Society should be prepared to help the churches study the Christian issues of rapid social change in communist countries where that is or will become possible.

II. New Social Questions Requiring Attention

Between the second and third Assemblies the World Council's Department on Church and Society has given most of its attention to the study of social issues confronting the non-Western countries. And it is clear that after the third Assembly we will have to strike a new balance, giving attention also to some of the crucial ethical problems of a rapidly changing industrial society in the economically developed West.

The Committee has tried in this connection to spell out some of the central issues around which such new study may proceed in view of present trends.

A. The Idea and Structure of the Responsible Society

The Amsterdam and Evanston Assemblies outlined the idea of the Responsible Society, as the criteria and the focus of Christian social action in different situations. The Rapid Social Change Study has sought to develop the meaning of this in terms of the changing situation of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In the industrialised societies, this may be done in relation to questions of:

1) Progress and Security. Each of these contrasting terms is frequently invoked as an ultimate justification of policies or developments. Yet neither of them can be an aim in itself. A Christian evaluation of these leading ideas of our time seems necessary for criticizing any idolatry of material progress or social security yet pointing out their positive value when seen in the light of God's grace and commandments.

2) Problems of an Economy of Abundance and the Use of Leisure. Many countries of the West face specific moral problems of an economy of abundance and the use of leisure. They are different from the problems of society where the scarcity of the necessities of life is real. Such problems need to be dealt with in terms of the Christian attitude to material goods, and the ultimate meaning of life.

3) Role of Organized Groups and their Relations. Many groups in the developed society are highly organized and have great power. The responsible exercise of power has therefore new dimensions today which need study.

B. Man in Industrial Society.

While it is necessary to define the institutional patterns of the responsible society it is also necessary to look at the problems as they affect the human person. Here the Working Committee is primarily thinking of the need for study of the implications of the new technological forces on the essential humanity of the workers, the managers and the other functionaries of the highly organized industrial society and their Christian evaluation.

C. The Dissolving of Ideologies in Modern Society, and the Problems this Raises.

Many of the ideologies which until recently stirred up enthusiasm and hope and even provided a worldly eschatology and a scheme of building utopia stand shattered. In many countries people have lost faith in the claims of economic and political myths of capitalism, socialism, democracy, nationalism and communism. And many of the ideologies promoted by Christians in a pseudo-religious fervour for one social purpose or another, have also broken down. The extent of the breakdown varies from country to country. Ideologies have been accepted with more fanaticism in some parts of the world than in others, but everywhere there is a growth of the pragmatic outlook and young people are growing sceptical of all ideologies. This affects the momentum of many political parties and the support for economic policies and will have implications for economic and social structures as well. All this raises new problems regarding the meaning of life for many people and requires analysis and study.

D. Responsible Society in Politics with Special Reference to the Alternatives to or Changes in Liberal Parliamentary Democracy.

The new technological forces, the emergence of the welfare state, the growth of new powerful organizations in industrial society, the debunking of political and economic utopianism and the awakening of colonial peoples have called forth new problems of responsible political life. There is a search for viable dynamic forms of democratic order which can prevent tyranny and chaos and relate political power to justice. This is true of all parts of the world including the West and it requires careful study.

III. A Fresh Enquiry into Christian Theological Foundations.

In posing this topic the Working Committee is not eager to go back to theological discussions unrelated to concrete social situations and its technical and moral complexities. What the Committee has in mind are the following:

a) The rapid social change study has raised certain distinct theological issues which demand further study. For example, the relation of Divine Providence to the morally ambiguous processes of economic development, and to the power-politics of the West as well as of the nationalism in the areas of rapid social change. Certain crucial theological issues still remain to be clarified in the whole Christian understanding of and approach to social change, technology, political structures and the relation between the individual and social institutions.

b) There is need for a fresh enquiry into the role of the Church as a corporate institution in society in the modern context. At a time when in all parts of the world the traditional institutional integration between religion, society and state is breaking up, there is need for a theological understanding of secularization and a deeper study of the Christian meaning of the secular, i.e. political, economic and social institutions which express a common humanity. This will also raise issues regarding the theological basis of Christian - non-Christian cooperation in building secular society in a religiously pluralistic society. In this connection there is also need to study and evaluate the institutional structures of the Church as they relate to Christian social witness in the modern world.

c) A great part of the world population is living in countries which are based on ideologies denying any part to religion in social activity. We feel it is necessary to work out the theological foundations for the attitudes of churches and Christians living under such conditions. What will be the basis of their witness and service; how can they fulfill their social responsibility and what are the limits of their obedience?

d) All the topics we have mentioned above need the active cooperation of experts in the social sciences and theologians alive to the realities of the ethical problems facing the social sciences. The Committee therefore thinks that it would be necessary to have more first rate theologians drawn into its work in the future.

e) In the present situation where there is a large measure of consensus of Christian social thought, a conversation among many of the different schools of theology may help to develop a common theology of society. The question may be raised whether such a conversation should not be initiated by the Committee itself, within its total programme. We might thus be able to raise the conversation begun at Oxford to a new level.

IV. Conclusion

The Committee emphasizes that these studies should be undertaken so as to further Christian social thinking and education among the churches and stimulate effective and creative action both at the local and world levels.

II(a)

PATTERN OF URBAN-RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

By

Dr. Robert Lee

This paper will focus on three of the most impressive ecological developments in American life. These trends are all intimately associated in a complex cause and effect relationship with the new technological and organizational revolutions which have transformed the face of America. They are among the dynamic processes which contribute to make the United States perhaps no less an "area of rapid social change", than countries in other parts of the world. The three ecological patterns are: the great reversal from rural to urban society, the rise of suburbia, the developing megalopolis. In a sense these three focus respectively on the past, the present, and the future, for urbanization is a long-term development; suburbia is a fairly recent phenomenon, while we stand at the threshold of megalopolis.

The Great Reversal From Rural to Urban Society

To say that America is now a nation of urbanites is to labor the obvious. But merely a cursory glance at American history reveals the significance of this statement. In 150 years the United States has changed from a small, primarily agricultural nation, facing a vast frontier, and largely isolated from world affairs, to a large, urban, highly complex, technical and industrial world power. A country that was 95% rural in 1790 was still 64% rural by the turn of the twentieth century. Just fifty years later, however, by 1950, the nation had reversed itself and become 64% urban. The report of the 1960 U.S. Census is certain to show an increase in the trend toward urbanization - one of the permanent revolutions in American life. Such is the unfolding drama of social change that 31 million Americans annually change their places of residency - a number equal to the nation's entire population a century ago.

There are numerous statistical as well as symbolic indicators of the great reversal from rural to urban society. As symbols of American life, the little red school house, family farm, village paper, and county court are becoming obsolete or residual. Like the open frontier, which is no longer even a memory for most Americans, these tokens of agrarian culture will also gradually wither away. Indeed, it is no longer proper to speak of "rural" and "urban" in dichotomous terms. A recent provocative book, Small Town in Mass Society (Princeton University Press, 1958) underscores the interdependence of the small town and the larger urban ethos. A housewife in a small hamlet and a society matron in New York City may both wear the latest fashions, as the Dior model is copied on "Seventh Avenue" (New York's mass production garment industry) and quickly disseminated throughout the land.

As for statistics, the increase in the number and size of cities is revealing. In 1790 the U.S. had only 24 urban places (i.e. cities and other incorporated places with 2,500 inhabitants or more), not one of which was larger than 50,000; only 5% of the total population lived in these urban places. But by 1950 there were 4,270 cities, five of which had a million or more dwellers. In 1860 Los Angeles was just a small town of 5,000. In 1900, it still had a rather unimposing population of 100,000. But by 1950 it had become an unwieldly metropolis of nearly two million.

The revolutionary implications of urbanization for American life are too numerous to describe adequately. A few examples will suffice. In the field of race relations, the urban impact has altered this "American dilemma" in significant ways. Population mobility has led hundreds of thousands of Negroes from rural areas to northern and southern cities in search of opportunities. This has resulted in a more uniform distribution of Negroes, so that New York City now has more Negro inhabitants than all other southern states except two, whose Negro population is only slightly larger than New York City's. More significantly, urbanization strikes at the foundations of segregation. In an urban setting, interpersonal relations are segmental and social relations largely impersonal. An individual is judged not so much by who he is, as by how well he can perform a function.

Consider the urban impact on one denomination, such as the Disciples of Christ. At the turn of the century, this group was 93% rural; today it is over 60% urban. Religious groups which emerged from simple, frontier, rural surroundings have had to adapt to the complexities of organizational and metropolitan life. No wonder there are factions and cleavages within such groups.

Finally, the great reversal from rural to urban society has brought about rapid changes in rural America. Not only is there the technological change from mule, horse or human muscle power to mechanical or electric power, but there are the genetic and managerial revolutions. The declining rural population reflects the fact that the work force required to feed the nation has decreased markedly. In 1900 one farm worker produced food and fiber for himself and seven others; now he supports himself and twenty-four others. Between 1950 and 1957, farm population declined by 4,700,000 while the total population increased more than nineteen million.

Present-day rural America has fewer but larger and more efficient commercial farms, more non-farm rural residents, more farm people becoming part-time farmers or supplementing their income from off-farm sources. There is less self-sufficiency and more dependence on community agencies and organizations outside the home or in the city. In an unprecedented move, the National Farmers' Union, which has traditionally stressed the independent small farm, recently shifted its policy and urged industry to go into rural areas. Instead of the crossroads church or the one-room school, there are consolidated schools, churches, health facilities, recreation, police and fire protection. All these trends are likely to be accentuated in the future.

The Rise of Suburbia

When H. Paul Douglass wrote The Suburban Trend in 1925, little did he realize that what was then a mere trickle would become a veritable flood, which has still not yet reached its height. For whatever we may call it - "subtopia, "rural-urban fringe," "sub-skirts and out-burbs," "exurbia" - the population explosion around the rim of central cities is an imposing new fact of our day. Over 42 million Americans, or about one out of four, have joined the mushrooming populations in suburbia which increased 210% between 1910 and 1950, while the nation as a whole increased 64%. Between 1940 and 1950 the St. Louis population increased from 816,048 to 852,523, whereas the suburbs jumped from 61,039 to 792,234. The Washington, D.C. suburbs grew six times as fast as the city itself. Other large cities report a similar story.

Mass-produced housing developments in the new suburbia have altered the physical and social landscape of America. Many social critics have pointed to the conformity and social homogeneity encouraged by suburban living. It is said that the same faces come out of the same type of split-level houses at the same time, to catch the same train, to work in the same offices, and presumably return to the same wives! The suburban shopping center and gigantic supermarket - so fascinating to the foreign visitor - are still another symbol of the new suburbia. Ten years ago there were only one hundred organized suburban shopping centers; today over 3,000 of them dot the countryside.

Suburbia includes not only the relatively affluent and exclusive residential suburbs, but also the predominantly industrial satellite cities, where industrial and technical workers and researchers are employed in local industries and offices, some of which have relocated from central city district The growth of both types of suburbs reflects, of course, the availability of rapid transportation and the human aspirations for social status and creature comforts derived from fleeing the noise, dirt, and congestion of the big city.

Suburbia has become as much a state of mind in America as a residential habitat. Increasingly a new way of life has become the middle-class model for Americans to emulate. This is the good life where the new leisure is being enjoyed: the life of young, growing families, of "organization men," of commuting, of property centeredness, and of morning Kaffee-Klatsches. Parrington's image of the "Great Barbecue", meant to capture the mood of nineteenth-century immigration - "First Come, First Served" - has become a literal fact, as the barbecue pit and increasingly the private pool have become symbols of the style of life in suburbia. If we judge suburbia as a mind-set as well as a locale, there is considerable truth in the observation that a nation which took over a century to shift from a rural to an urban society went suburban overnight. The suburban ethos shapes the patterns of living of countless numbers who live elsewhere.

One of the chief beneficiaries of the rise of suburbia is the Protestant Church. A National Council study estimates that during the past decade 14

Protestant denominations established new churches as follows: 19% in urban areas, 17.2% in rural places, and 63.2% in suburbia. Apparently the church is regarded as an essential feature in the community life of suburbia, for it seems to be among the first institutions which suburbanites establish. A "high degree of neighboring" and the quest for a place to belong, in view of the rootlessness of highly mobile suburban families, tends to foster self-determination in starting new churches. In addition the suburban church often serves a latent function as a symbol of the new social status achieved by the suburbanite. Significant for the development of non-denominational churches is the fact that the new suburbs seem to melt down religious differences and denominational lines. Church affiliation is more likely to follow the traffic flow than denominational channels.

The Developing Megalopolis

Expanding urban areas have transfigured the face of America. This dramatic development has been variously called "interurbia," "urban strip," "metropolitan region," "regional city," "extended city". Perhaps the name which has "caught on" is "megalopolis". Significantly, this is a recovery of an obsolete word which simply means the relatively unbroken connection between the subdivision of one city and that of another. Such a continuous concentration of population, industry, commerce, and cultural activities may be seen in the 600 mile long megalopolis stretching from Maine to Virginia through Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C.

A map depicting the population distribution of the United States would reveal that there are seventeen such metropolitan regions developing. By the turn of the present century, there is every expectation that the steel belt from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to Cleveland, Ohio will be linked; so will all the cities between Detroit and Cincinnati. The Chicago megalopolis will include Milwaukee and extend downward toward St. Louis. On the west coast, Los Angeles (already said to be "one hundred suburbs in search of a city") will be yoked with San Diego. The San Francisco Bay Area will be enlarged to encompass Sacramento. And in the northwest, Tacoma, Seattle, and Portland will become "megalopolized."

This shape of future America is but a logical extension of the urban-suburban trend noted earlier. In 1950 the U.S. Census reported 168 metropolitan areas in which more than half of the American population lived. Serious attention is beginning to focus on regional planning. Twenty-five years ago only one organization was engaged formally in regional planning for the great metropolitan areas; today over forty are active. In fact, an "Association of Metropolitan Organizations" was recently founded to further the interests of regional planning.

Planning on a regional basis seems essential if the nation is to meet the perplexing and urgent problems of administration, transportation, parks, education, water supply, slums, taxation and allied questions which conform to no city, county, or state political boundary lines. Consider the

consequences of decentralized industry and business offices made possible by automation, which cuts down the number of routine manual or clerical workers and virtually eliminates the necessity for location in cities to take advantage of the labor supply. Such decentralization means that there is less dependence on downtown for work and shopping. It also means that much time is spent by many in transportation - particularly in automobiles.

It would be exaggerated to say that America is developing a road-centered culture. But planning in the metropolitan region does seem to have the automobile owner rather than the pedestrian in mind. And why not? For there are now 65 million motor vehicles competing for road space as compared to 25,800,000 in 1945 and a mere 8,000 in 1900. Present estimates are that by 1975 we will have 100 million vehicles for a population of 220 million. The feverish emphasis on more superhighways (I write as a non-car owner), which invite more cars, which require still more superhighways has been likened with some justification to the lunatic quality of our arms and missile race. (Both races are pregnant with tragic possibilities).

Although Americans have yet to comprehend the full significance of the developing megalopolis (does it portend new political institutions? an even higher standard of living? a greater degree of cultural levelling?), at least one perceptive critic has already expressed his disquietude. August Heckscher director of the Twentieth Century Fund, points out the paradox that in a Space Age we should be "running out of space." He states that people in a technological civilization become insatiable consumers of space and that an urban existence heightens their demands.

Today's cities are formed indiscriminately, as the "almighty Bulldozer" overruns any natural or open spaces that happen to be left. It is, indeed, fascinating to contemplate the possible consequences of the closing of open spaces in future America. Would it have the same significance for American life and manners as the closing of the frontier? What kind of churches and what type of ministries will be relevant for the new megalopolis already emerging in the United States?

II(b)

PATTERN OF RURAL - URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

By

Henry F. Makulu

Introduction

Africa is a vast continent and has a variety of physical, cultural, political and economic conditions. No writer on problems of Africa can state with certainty that this or that fact applies equally to all the countries in it. One can only hope to make general observations on the nature of the problems, since they contrast Africa from either the Western or the Eastern countries. This is the line I am going to follow in this paper - to write about Africa in general terms giving those conditions that are distinctly Africa's.

The Tribal Structures

One of the forms of life which is essentially African is the tribal structure. Tribal grouping is based on blood relationship, in some areas it is matrelineal, in others it is patrilineal. We may describe these groups as "community of biological as well as functional relationships." In these, family relationships are of great importance, for it is at this level of African society that relations are markedly functional. This affects the economic life of the communities. African family life is one of the institutions that have undergone profound changes in structure, meaning as well as in its functions. The fact that the family is changing gives us indication that the tribe is also changing. One evidence of this change in the meaning and functions of the family is that the hitherto strong bonds of related persons have become loose. The change has struck at the very roots of the tribe by weakening the structure of the family. The typical family relationship in most parts of Africa is the extended family pattern. Persons constituting this extended family need not all be siblings, but are bound together by a common ancestor.

One of the features of the extended family is its provision for a kind of social security. In each such family the aged, the orphans and the widows are cared for. This is one of the things which make the new family groups in the urban centres appear to live in a vacuum. The extended family has stabilizing influence on the community in the assurance it gives to persons who belong together, of mutual dependence and security. Under the pressure of the modern economic conditions the extended family tends to make life difficult. This is particularly so in the urban situation where housing is strictly limited. Under these conditions the extended family therefore, seems to be a hindrance rather than an advantage. In the urban pattern of living there is pressure towards individualist morality.

One distinct example of change in rural patterns is in the concept of marriage. Marriage is no longer a mutual agreement between families, but a choice left in the hands of the inexperienced individual. When marriages are arranged by families certain qualities are looked for and the two persons concerned are scrutinized by members of the families on both sides. This helps to make marriage stable. The increase of the incidence of divorce in the urban areas seems to confirm this.

Economic Life in Rural Africa

Whereas villages in the past were bubbling with activity, today village life is gloomy and monotonous, unattractive and often desolate. They are depleted of able bodied men who are away to town and cities to work, leaving behind them old men, women and children. This in many cases leads to inactivity and seriously affects food production. The villages do not seem to have the abundance of food as they used to have in the past, much dependence is laid on the earnings of the relatives who live in towns and mines.

One of the features of rural economic patterns in many parts of Africa is the co-operative system in food production. Under this system communal labour is supplied in the cultivation of essential food crops. This system of syndicating labour ensures that all people have some means of maintaining reasonable size of garden or plantation. This is one of the examples of the fact that tribal grouping is a "community of functional relationships."

Even with this arrangement villages rarely produce enough food for their own consumption let alone having any surplus for the market. Rural economy therefore, remains uncertain if not precarious, resources for maintaining some kind of economic stability are very much limited to local material for which the village may not have efficient means or tools to exploit to any great advantage. The situation becomes even more desperate when all young men leave the villages and the production of food is left in the hands of women and old people. The result is constant famine and food scarcity in many parts of rural Africa. Rural economic stability should be the objective of the new nations in Africa - creation of healthy agrarian communities realising that it is in the best of their interests and that this will avoid a situation where there might emerge a weak proletariat.

Promising Community Development Schemes.

In some parts of Africa governments and other agencies are making plans, and in others, they are actually carrying out programmes of rural community development. This is in the hope and belief that rural areas can become transformed in such a way that they can offer great opportunities for people to live a full and creative life. These plans call for a great deal of patience and money. Examples of this move is seen in resettlement schemes for the encouragement of the villagers to become peasant farmers, or the resettlement of those who return from employment in towns, cities and mines. These people are usually encouraged by grants of public subsidy so that the initial stages of land development are made possible. One of the things which seem to happen in these community development schemes is that great

opportunities are offered for people to revive their old, but useful crafts and to improve on them as they apply them to the needs of modern life.

One of the difficulties which planners of community development seem to meet is the wrong conception of "rural development". To many, rural development means organization of old tribal life with its limitations on the range of activities. We know that there are now excellent rural development schemes where villages are being helped to adjust to the demands of modern life. Not only are old crafts revived, but also new techniques are being introduced in agriculture, including soil and animal husbandry, domestic arts, hygiene and care of children. Many more things could be brought within the grasp of the villagers. More often this work is done by secular organizations. Christians should remember that there is as much opportunity for Christian witness in dilligently applying themselves to these schemes as there is in any other tasks, whether they are involved in the actual activity or they are called upon to direct these operations.

Disintegration of Rural Communities and the Confused Urban Patterns

In many parts of Africa disintegration of rural communities starts at the point where areas of industrialization are accessible to villages. Men leave their villages to go to the industrial centres. At first they are merely "campers" as they still maintain their foothold in the village. They return home during times of ploughing. At this stage economy of the rural communities are not terribly disrupted. The second phase follows when men begin to bring their families. At first they continue to keep contact with their villages by sending wives home occasionally, but this phase soon passes and home returning becomes irregular. Families find their place in the new centres where tempting town life offers easy life. Families grow up in towns and mind compounds and urbanization therefore becomes the order of the day.

When this stage is reached there are adjustments to be made. In this process of search for new patterns tribal moral standards are dropped far too soon and before any other patterns are created. The result is that there is formed a kind of hotch-potch social pattern with little or no lasting value. The bad features of Western civilization are indiscriminately copied, which however, do not give people a stable base for the ordering of their lives.

The Structure of the Family in the Urban Situation

Under urban conditions the family undergoes severe tests of change. The old conception of moral values are often challenged by seemingly easy, and often so called "civilized" ways. The housing situation in towns and cities makes it almost impossible for maintaining respectable family life.

The Status of Women in Urbanized Situation

In the urban areas another significant change is both in the attitude of people to, and the status of women. The area of functions of women has increased yet in some of these areas, there has set in inactivity and indolence particularly where women are not educated. In some parts of Africa,

the number of women going into employment in secondary industries or domestic service is steadily increasing, in addition to a few women entering into professions such as nursing, teaching, etc. This brings to these women a new sense of independence hitherto unknown in most parts of Africa. Increase in opportunities for education also increases the speed of emancipation of women. This entry of African women into the life of industrial community should not be regarded as something to upset the balance of society, but should give Christians cause to rejoice that the energies of all are being liberated and utilized in this way. Christians, however, have a responsibility to be on the watch for the direction of this trend so that this new found sense of independence does not lead to anti-social patterns of life.

Urban Patterns of Marriage

The pattern of marriage in the tribal setting is a contract between families This, from the point of view of western conception of marriage sounds unreasonable. It is also argued that fixed marriages do not have lasting value. However logical these arguments may sound, the fact remains that under tribal system marriages were stable whereas under changed conditions divorce is comparatively prevalent. In urban areas where individuals are usually separated from their tribal groups young people are faced with this choice. More often the choice is based on some physical qualification without consideration of the importance of character. Marriage as a sacred union between a man and a woman and its purpose in terms of love and mutual trust and the use of God given gifts for the enriching of human life are overshadowed by material and selfish motives.

The urban situation makes it difficult for young people to have deep understanding of the true meaning of marriage. They see around them other men living with "town wives" and learn that these unions are as easily dissolved as they are contracted. This sometimes leads the young man to the temptation of "town marriage" while he waits to return to his village for a "permanent" marriage. The attitude of many town young people to Christian marriage varies considerably depending on the missionary influence in the area from which they come. In some areas young people who wish to contract what they call "decent marriages" arrange for civil marriage according to the prevailing legal practice Others have civil marriage celebrated in tribal fashion. Civil marriage is sometimes considered easier than Church marriage because in civil marriage there is provision for divorce. In areas with strong missionary influence, however, young men and women, especially those who have had reasonably high education prefer Church marriage and are prepared to take the solemn vows. In some areas a compromise is reached to fulfil Christian responsibility of dedicating one's self to God at this time of developmental crisis, on one hand, and to meet the need for tribal orientation of marriage on the other. To this end certain customs of tribal marriage are incorporated in the marriage ceremony.

Of particular importance in these areas where people seem to have lost tribal identity is the Church's teaching and practice of Christian family life. Unless there is developed among the people in new urban centres,

strong Christian families, urban societies in Africa will not have strong roots with which to stand the violent wind of change. Christian families should be strengthened by Church fellowship giving them the moral and spiritual resources which they need in their task of acting as leaven in their communities.

Technological Knowledge and the Working Habits

The phenomenal advance in technological knowledge in modern industries has direct influence on the working habits of Africans. In the rural pattern of labour they respond only to the rising and setting of the sun in contrast to the control of the clock, or the urgency of the work to be done depends upon the season and not calculated time. The needs are immediate, personal as well as limited, the pressure for work is therefore comparatively little. Naturally, the output under these conditions cannot be very great.

In the modern industrial pattern production has to be maintained reasonably at the same, as well as at constant rate. This requires the adjustment of physical resources to the constant demands of work and production value. It is common in industrial communities for people to make comparisons of productivity of European and African labour. Until the African becomes adjusted to the acquiring of technological knowledge either by experience or by training these values do not reflect reality. It is important to remember that the African worker is still in the process of adjustment to technological know-how of western civilization. This calls for sympathy and understanding on the part of those who have to work with him. Notwithstanding all these limitations, however, the experience of many industrial organizations in Africa evidences that African workers generally show remarkable adaptability and a degree of efficiency when they are given opportunities and when human relations are sound.

Human Relations in Urban Life

Sympathy and understanding are just the things industrial communities lack. This leads to tension and misunderstanding. In homogeneous industrial communities there are possibilities for the mobility of workers. In Africa, particularly in Southern Africa mobility in industries is limited to possibilities within each racial group. In industrial centres of southern Africa, it has been a common practice by industrialists to reserve skilled jobs for white workers. In this practice they are supported by legislation of one kind or another. This creates strained relationships between white and black workers and ultimately leads to tension and open conflict in industry. The situation in southern Africa is complicated by the fact that this conflict is three sided. Whereas in homogeneous industrial communities the conflict may be between labour and management, here it is on one side between white labour and management, on another it is between black labour and management and to this is added conflict between white labour and black labour. This makes industrial conciliation delicate and complicated.

Another cause of tension is the serious lack of line of communication. The separated groups only know the bad features of each other's life because they have no inside knowledge. The issues are prejudged on the bases of the reports of the press and there is a lamentable lack of understanding of each

other's cultural background to help one appreciate that the other behaves in the way he does because of the influences of the cultural forces around him.

In this dilemma the tragic story is that the churches do not seem to want to engage in giving guidance to their members about the meaning of Christian responsibility on racial issues. There is tendency on the part of Church leaders to tell their members what they like to hear and not what the real teaching of Christ is on matters affecting human relations. In this, much more than teaching is needed. Real and forthright witness by Christian groups should be the goal. Within the life of the church itself ugly features of racialism exist and these must be removed if Christians are to make effective witness in the community.

Interdependence of Rural-Urban Communities

One of the features of the new patterns in rural-urban developments is their interdependence in economic, political and social developments.

(a) Economic Interdependence. The development of industries and the exploitation of some of Africa's rich natural resources require labour on large scale. Able bodied men are recruited from the remote villages and are brought to the mines, factories and other industrial centres. While in the past labour was secured by recruitment now labour requirements are met by migrant labour from the villages. These men of their own will come in search of work. In return towns, cities and mines enable villages to have the new sources of wealth. Men who come to work send money and goods to the villages or distribute the wealth they have accumulated to relatives when they return. To some extent rural areas keep towns and cities supplied with certain commodities which are brought to the urban markets. In this way rural areas are gradually becoming reasonably well developed economically.

(b) Social Interdependence. Tribesmen who come to towns and cities bring with them items and ideas of their culture and social life. In social life miners or factory workers are not different from their kin in the villages. Customs are still kept although these seem to undergo a degree of change. The process of divorcement from tribal culture is given impetus by the increasing number of tribesmen adopting towns and mining centres as their home. Children are born and brought up in these urban conditions and many of the tribal customs are forgotten or rejected. This has led to the creation of what looks like a hotch-potch culture, a confused mixture of cultural elements between the tribes on one hand, and between tribal culture and western civilization on the other.

(c) Political Interdependence. Politically, the pattern is that of echoes of what happens in the towns, the mine compound or the locations. Political overtones of the urban centres have repercussions in the villages in remote areas. This to me seems to indicate that Christians would do well to exert their maximum influence in the urban centres. The fight between Christianity and non-Christian forces is going to become intensified in the urban situations. If this fight is lost in this area it may then follow that it is also lost in the rural areas. The importance of the Church providing urban areas with the strongest possible leadership, therefore, cannot be emphasised too strongly.

These forces at work make this task imperative and the Church needs courage and foresight in meeting these problems if Africa is to be saved from turning into a continent in which materialistic pattern of life might overshadow the ultimate objective of many sincere African Christians, namely; the emergence of African nations which accept God as the Lord of all life.

II(c)

URBAN-RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN

By

Prof. Mikio Sumiya

Social and Economic Situation in the Face of Technological Impact

The response to technological impact and subsequent development differs from one society to another, depending upon the social and economic conditions therein prevailing. Japan made a spectacular development since 1859 with her open-door policy, which was a radical departure from the two hundred year long closed-door policy, and this resulted in an extremely serious as well as rapid social change under the impact of Western technological civilization. From the impact with the West an internal political change took place, which became an occasion for the official recognition of social and economic freedom of the people to quite an extent, which in turn conditioned the pattern of the subsequent development of the nation. What then, was the social and economic situatic of mid-ninteenth century Japan?

The Rural Situation in Mid-Ninteenth Century

Land was owned by landlords who gave peasants the right to till it in exchange for more than one half of the produce. The peasants' life was that of a basically self-sustaining subsistence economy, which under heavy pressure from the landlord did not enable them to have anything beyond the absolute minimum necessities of life. Into this existence penetrated the money economy through two different routes.

1) Indirectly: The landlord sold for money the farm produce received from the peasants and purchased what were necessities to the upper classes and also articles of luxury.

2) Directly: The peasants themselves had to use money in order to purchase goods which they could not produce, such as some clothing, lamp-oil, etc. To be sure, their requirements were few but nevertheless money they had to have. They therefore sold a small portion of their farm produce to merchants and in order to increase their cash-income started "side-work" even though on on a small scale. In the middle of the eighteenth century local markets gradually came into being and the peasantry was thus driven into money economy little by little.

In this process some farmers borrowed money from other farmers which, for various reasons they were unable to repay. Consequently they had to give up the right to till the land for the landlord and became farm-hands for other farmers. As time went on there developed two classes of farmers - one, poor tenant farmers and the other, comparatively well-to-do "landlord-ish" though

not land-owning farmers. In the middle of the ninteenth century the former were estimated to constitute no less than 30 percent of all farmers.

Eventually there was no more tillable land available and to curb the markedly growing population infanticide and abortion were fairly commonly practiced among the rural people, but still there were some who just could not make a living as farmers. They were forced out into urban centres, which was against the law, as Japanese economy was then based on agriculture which made it strictly illegal for peasants to move into towns.

The Cities

With one or two exceptions towns and cities were not industrial cities but mostly cities developed around military fortresses or castles. Samurai, or warriors constituted the majority of the town population and to support them it needed about 50 percent of the national farm produce. The urban population consisted of landlords and warriors surrounded by merchants and artisans. The life of the merchants and artisans was not rooted in that of the peasants but was dependent upon that of the Samurai class. The growth of money economy resulted in the increase of luxuries in the life of the Samurai class, driving them into economic strain and stress, especially those of the lower strata. Many of them had to engage in family industry to supplement their income and some were heavily indebted to merchants. According to the traditional occupational stratification - warrior, farmer, artisan and merchant - merchants in theory were at the lower end of the scale, but in practice were steadily gaining power which was soon to exceed that of the Samurai.

Technological Impact and Social Change

Then came the impact of the Western nations, forcing Japan to open her doors. Politically the Tokugawa Shogunate (military dictatorship) was replaced by the rule of Tenno (dynastic emperor), but in general there was no participation by the citizenry in national politics. In effect the so-called Meiji Restoration was little more than a transfer of power from one type of dictator to another.

However, this political change caused a great socio-economic change. The Meiji Government realized that unless it adopted the political and economic techniques of the West, Japan too would sooner or later become a colony of the Western powers like most of the East Asian countries. The controlling idea of the then progressive leaders was to wed Western technology to the spirit of Japan. To implement this idea they advocated the policy of "increasing the national wealth and military strength" and to that end adopted the policy of industrialization, with two major plans in mind:

1) Emancipation of the peasantry. The peasant had been a serf, completely tied down to a piece of land without liberty to choose which crop to raise or unable to migrate. In the interest of increasing farm production a more rational farm policy was sought for by liberating peasantry from all these restrictions.

2) Land reform. The largest proportion of the national revenue came from land tax which the new government needed to stabilize. For that land-ownership had to be clearly defined. In this process approximately 30 percent of farmers were reduced to tenant farmers. Payment to the landlords was done in kind (the same proportion of produce as before), which the landlords sold for cash with which they paid their land tax to the government.

This land reform emancipated peasantry from the land but as the land tax had to be paid in cash, placed them under the new yoke of money economy. The number of land-owning farmers steadily decreased as they were unable to adjust themselves to this change. Theoretically peasants had the freedom to migrate to the city, but the city offered practically no employment opportunities to the landless and skill-less ex-peasants. They were therefore compelled to remain tenant farmers although they had to pay as much as one half of their total production for tenancy fee.

The repercussion on the city was also serious. The Samurai and landed gentry of the former period were given bonds which they sold as a source of income. The majority of them found this measure totally inadequate to support their families, but as they were the intellectuals of those days, many were employed as civil servants, school teachers, journalists, etc. The disintegration of the Samurai class also led to the downfall of the merchants and artisan classes for they suddenly lost the market for their trade. The only artisans who were not too badly affected were those in the building trade, such as carpenters, plasterers, etc. It is also true that some new trades came into being as a result of contact with the West, e.g. shoemaking, tailoring, the barber, etc.

More serious was the rapid growth of the urban slum with the sudden increase of dispossessed Samurai, artisans and peasants, as well as the newly emerging urban proletariat with a steadily increasing number of factory workers, riksha-coolies, etc.

Generally speaking, as a result of the breakdown of the old authority both in rural and urban areas, an air of freedom developed in economic activity and intellectual life. People eagerly sought for a fresh thought or ideology to give direction to the new life. They welcomed the liberalism of the West, and even Christianity was able to break through the stone wall of the old prejudice against it.

Phases of Technological Impact

There were two contrasting patterns in the introduction of technology into Japan. One was to improve the indigenous techniques, the most noteworthy example of which was seen in the silk industry. It made a phenomenal advance as an export industry based upon domestic capital with indigenous methods improved by adopting certain techniques developed in France.

The other was to bring in Western techniques, the most outstanding example being the textile industry. Cotton weaving as a family industry or a peasants side work became overnight a large scale textile industry with the import of high grade cotton from abroad and the introduction of Western techniques. Founded upon the private capital of cotton merchants, this new industry operating 24-hour-a-day plants provided employment opportunities to farm girls over and above the city girls, which up until now had been unknown.

Another industry which developed with the introduction of Western technology was ship-building. This, however, was closely tied up with the war material industry and as such was heavily subsidized by the government.

Urban industry thus developed steadily under the impact of Western technology and since the 1890's came to exceed agriculture in terms of national economy, giving industrialists and merchants more and more power in national politics.

Influences of Technological Change on the Village

Although the Japanese were intensely interested in the agricultural techniques of the West, they were unable to benefit greatly owing to the basic pattern of Japanese agriculture being so completely different from that of the West. The small scale farming of Japan - the average land per farmer being less than one hectare - could not possibly absorb techniques which emerged out of the large scale farming of the West.

Even so the increasing population pressure and consumer wants made the increase of agricultural productivity imperative. Stimulated by Western techniques a radically different type of small scale farm management was developed. In short it was a technique founded to get the maximum production out of the minimum amount of land, thus producing economic ethics which glorified diligence (hard work) and frugality (to spend sparingly or not at all), as the two greatest virtues. This was to check the unlimited increase of consumer want so as to stabilize the life of farmers within the framework of scarcity.

Another consequence in rural life was the advancement of side trades of innumerable kinds, which unwittingly prepared farm youths for work in various sorts of urban industry. They were no longer totally unskilled labour when they left the farm to go into town. (400,000 of them have migrated annually into towns and cities since the turn of the century.)

The level of the living standard in rural Japan thus rose steadily but not in proportion to the rise of the national economy. Farmers continued to constitute the lowest income group of Japanese society, benefitting the least from modern technical civilization. After World War I, however, electricity and newspapers became available in rural districts and much of the influence of urbanism found its way into them. This process was not accentuated until after World War II.

Urban Development

The rural exodus of 400,000 per annum meant the rapid growth of urban centres and here three points deserve our attention.

1) Urbanization does not necessarily mean the growth of the old cities, most of which were military and political centres under the feudal administration. The cities which were chosen as centres of local administration under the new regime were selected on the basis of transportation and communication in the light of the network of railways, which in turn helped decentralize trade and commerce. Universities, colleges, technical schools, hospitals, newspapers, etc. also became bases around which new cities grew.

2) The rise of the urban proletariat by the in-migration of dispossessed ex-farmers-unskilled labourers, resulted in the emergence of urban slums. In fact until World War I labourers, including the skilled workers, were altogether regarded as the lowest class in Japanese society and were obliged to live in slums or semi-slums. Since then, however, the large industries began to train select numbers of workers for whom the company provided housing. The majority of workers in large industries began to take residence in the labourers' section of the city, leaving only the labourers in small industries in the slums. From about this time the difference in wage scales between the large and small industries became increasingly wide, while in terms of total number, those employed by small industries far exceeded those in large industries.

3) There arose a new middle class of public administrator, civil servant, industrial manager, technician, engineer, office worker, school teacher, medical doctor, lawyer, etc. They were largely concentrated in the cities and received modern education under the new school system and formed almost a distinct class of urban intelligentsia.

The social stratification thus formulated in modern Japan is characterized by an institutionalized "social ladder" which connects various classes and makes possible social mobility from one class to another. For example, teacher training schools and military academies were tuition-free so that any child, regardless of his family background, could enter if he passed the competitive examination. Or the labourer who has continued to work for one factory over many years and acquired skill could be promoted to the position of foreman or supervisor. Education promoted the philosophy of "advancement and success" giving hope to youth and encouraging them to work hard.

Conclusion

As in any other country, the Japanese rural village is conservative whereas the urban city is the gateway to a new civilization. Traditionally the peasant regarded himself to be of higher status than the urban worker and did not wish his daughter to marry a labourer. Since the 1930's this has changed considerably and the salaried businessman or the urban skilled worker has come to be preferred as a husband rather than the farmer. At the same time rural life as a whole has changed a good deal under the impact of urban life, especially during World War II due to the large scale industrial as well as military mobilization, and evacuation of urban populations from air-raids. During the past six or seven years the most radical changes have been taking place both in rural and urban areas, but to deal with them thoroughly would require another paper.

III

FREEDOM OF CHOICE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE THREAT OF THE HIDDEN PERSUADERS

By

Malcolm Boyd

We have seen the emergence of hidden persuaders, employing methods of psychological depth research to work upon us as potential buyers, voters or converts at subliminal, subconscious levels of perception. Political totalitarianism engages increasingly in brainwashing: it is a technique which breaks down personality identity and reduces a person's individuality and his potential for free, willed action. In the Western bloc of nations, and especially in the United States, advertising has emerged as a basic, powerful industry. At the same time, public relations ("P.R.") has increasingly worked behind-the-scenes in politics, big business, labour and religion to mould public opinion attitudes and to influence buyers of goods, voters in elections and potential religious converts.

Manipulative Public Relations

How manipulative must a public relations campaign be? Irwin Ross, in a new study of public relations in the U.S.A. entitled The Image Merchants, gives this answer: "The very complexity, not to say irrationality, of opinion formation usually requires of a public relations campaign that it be manipulative at least in the sense of being indirect, subtle, and ingenious....The intent of such manipulation may well be innocuous; its by-products may also be a positive boon to the community; but manipulation it remains, nonetheless." The magnitude of the Church's prophetic task is clearly evidenced by manipulative forces at work around us ceaselessly. John Kenneth Galbraith in The Affluent Society takes note of such an incredible change in culture "that many of the desires of the individual are no longer even evident to him. They become so only as they are synthesized, elaborated, and nurtured by advertising and salesmanship, and these, in turn, have become among our most important and talented professions. Few people at the beginning of the ninteenth century needed an adman to tell them what they wanted."

The tendency toward dehumanization of man is evident in all societies. Man becomes a statistic, a digit; he loses his identity, the expression of freedom. He becomes a member of 'the lonely crowd,' moving from tradition-directedness and inner-directedness to other-directedness (as David Riesman has pointed out.) But what freedom is left to other-directed man? He is encased within his own 'peer-group,' desiring above anything else to be accepted within it as one who is identical with the other persons in the group.

Motivation Research

A technique which bears close attention is Motivation Research. It reaches into "the emotional structure, the unconscious, the deepest sources of motivation in the individual," according to Pierre Martineau in his book Motivation in Advertising. The creative people in advertising are trying to create "a message which will incorporate this power to move human beings just because it can get at their primitive, fundamental, prelogical motives and impulses." In Motivation Research ("M.R.") the person becomes the centre of dominant interest and is understood as being changeable, suggestible, highly nonrational, motivated far more by emotion and habit and unconscious causes than by reason and logic. "M.R." offers techniques and bodies of theory from the various humanistic science particularly sociology, social anthropology, psychology, psychoanalysis, psychiat and social psychology. Semantics and the various disciplines grouped under 'communication' are also seen as being extremely relevant. "M.R." tries to penetrate underneath a person's conforming conduct and "the parts of his personality that he shows to the world when he is behaving himself." It attempts to direct, control or influence the behaviour of persons. Evidence indicates that the greatest memorability is achieved for a product or institution by its affective qualities - nuances of feeling, any traces of emotional meanings. Affective meanings include colour, mood, pictorial symbols.

Self-Image and Public-Image

There is a process of interaction which takes place between the personality of an individual and the 'personality' of an institution, product, political candidate or church. Increasingly, one hears about the 'image' of an automobile, a politician, a church, a cigarette, a labour union or bank. What is the image, or picture, held of it in the mind of an individual person or group of persons? "M.R." is concerned with excavating into sub-conscious individual or group thought as to the nature of such images.

There is a vast discrepancy between an institution's (or person's) own ideas of its various images, on the one hand, and the actual images held about it by outside persons. For example, some public images of a church might include such factors as economic snobbery, racial discrimination, dictatorial church governmen or excessive parochialism. It would be a decided boon for that church if it were to set about changing itself; it would be a tragic mistake if the church decided instead to try changing its public images, by means of public relations technique rather than trying to change itself! Ironically, the television industry in the U.S.A. (which is a major influence itself in creating public images for institutions and persons) became seriously concerned in the spring of 1959 about its own 'image'. The board chairman of the National Broadcasting Company issued a plea for the creation of "a true tv image."

A classic example of 'image' alteration was given by an expert in Motivation Research when she explained how a food called kippers was being rejected at store counters by the American housewife, and what she and her colleagues did to bring about a change in this situation. "So we found it necessary to examine the emotional associations people had with kippers. We found that kippers have a very foreign sound to most people. They visualize poor people in foreign countri who can't afford anything better, and minority groups in their own country...

The advertising problem, therefore, was not to prove that kippers taste delicious. The problem was to Americanize kippers, to tie it in with accepted American foods, to make it a perfectly safe, average, secure thing to serve."

Modern Techniques of Exploitation

Exploitation is a constant, growing problem in all societies. Hidden persuaders work in all societies, under different labels, utilizing varying techniques. Exploitation and hidden persuasion threaten and reduce freedom of choice in all societies. Exploitation has become a norm in secular use of the media of mass communication. Exploitation may be engaged-in for a 'cause,' to facilitate a system that will ("it really will, eventually") make people better off and happier and better fed and better clothed. Yet is not war the accumulation of many, many kinds of 'sincere' exploitation? One of the worst forms of sin in exploitation is that form of pride which says: "I will exploit you for your own good." What, exactly is this? Who can be objective enough to know what is this absolute kind of 'good'?

In Madison Avenue, U.S.A., Martin Mayer writes of a renowned advertising executive who earned money during his college vacations in his undergraduate days by selling Bibles door to door; "No better experience for an advertising man could be imagined because the people who buy Bibles already own Bibles; to sell them another one is an exercise in pure salesmanship." This college man was acting, undoubtedly, quite innocently; but the religious 'hucksters,' the opportunists who exploit religious faith or the yearning for a religious faith, by use of media of mass communication and various "P.R." and "M.R." techniques, offend one's sensibilities in a most vulgar fashion. Ironically, often they act with the complaisance of some clergymen who are surprisingly naive and gullible.

Predicament of Modern Man

The mentality of hidden persuaders has affected many areas of human relationships and, indeed, has become a pervasive problem in American culture....and, therefore, in world culture. How does the spirit and technique of hidden persuaders corrupt our culture and our society? One relies more and more upon techniques of persuasion and subtleties of propaganda than upon relatively unemotional presentation of ideas and simple statement of issues. For the non-specialist, the sphere of politics or business, religion or economics, becomes increasingly a complex jungle which is unintelligible without a translator. The translator is a propagandist. Thus, for example, we see the rise to importance of the 'newsmagazine,' a journal which 'interprets' the news.

Communication at all levels becomes more complex. Words carry one set of meanings, symbols another, real meanings another. One must be told, not only 'what' but also 'why'. Yet this telling must be indirect, roundabout, very obvious in an explicitly hidden way. (Yes, one insists, too, upon being told 'how'; in fact, one wants answers and does not first wish to bother with the asking of questions, even the right ones.) Of course, man loses respect for man, for man is a manipulable object, a thing to cast a vote or buy a product or 'accept' a faith. God? One cannot be too much concerned with God, if one is seeped in the philosophy of hidden persuasion, for God respect man's free will as an absolutely basic tenet of his relationship with man; and hidden

persuasion seeks to manipulate and control man's free will. Man, having been persuaded in hidden ways, distrusts simple exposition, objective statement, whatever appears to be what it is; for man feels that he knows better, and that there is always lurking beneath the surface a 'gimmick'. So, if a 'gimmick' is, in fact, openly revealed and explicitly stated (though the hidden persuasion of another, different 'gimmick' may be below the surface) man happily accepts the 'gimmick' that he sees, and probes no deeper. The spirit and technique of hidden persuaders are thus seen manifested at many cultural levels, working behind the scenes, out-smarting what was 'smart' yesterday, ceaselessly working upon the ideas and actions of men. Indeed, this is a form of personal and corporate imperialism which we have scarcely begun to probe in depth.

The Church's Task

What then is the Church's task and how should it be performed? Can the Church exploit persons in the name of Jesus Christ? No! It cannot "sell Christ like soap," as one revivalist said it ought to do. It is self-contradictory for a church to pronounce the Gospel message by means of a process which reduces a human being, who is receiving the message, to an object, a statistic or a digit.

The Church must speak out prophetically and pastorally to the culture in which it lives. H.A. Hodges speaks to this point: "People must be told, for it is a central point of Christianity, that their present values are wrong, not merely those which they themselves recognize to be self-centered, but even those of which they are really proud, and that neither in this world nor in Christianity can these be realized at all." However, we must not speak out to our culture about something we are blinded to ourselves. Our Christian evangelism must be cleansed in motivation and action; it must not be deliberate exploitation, under whatever respectable religious guise. In a provocative book Battle for the Mind, William Sargant writes that "the techniques employed in religious conversations" often approximate so closely the modern political techniques of brainwashing and thought control that each throws light on the mechanics of the other.

Our battle, as Christians, must be waged against all propagandistic stereotyping and over-simplification, unethical journalism, immoral political techniques, thought control threatened by mis-use of the media of mass communication or their outright control, overt brainwashing methodology and subtle or naive utilization of slogans which perpetuate caricatures and generate partial truths. We must, of course, seek to identify and publicly name all hidden persuaders. To avoid any danger that we should ourselves be hiding behind a double-standard ethic, we must scrupulously endeavour to keep our own Christian persuasion as open as possible, and to seek and welcome criticism of our evangelistic endeavours when they, by deliberate attempt or else inadvertently, make use of techniques of hidden persuasion.

The magnitude of the Church's prophetic task is seen in the fact of the enormity and the depth of such deliberate manipulation of men's free wills. Many of the churches, deeply immersed within culture, have themselves succumbed to the ideas and techniques of hidden persuaders. The Church must address

itself to its own constituency as well as to the whole of culture, announcing that man is created in the image of God and is therefore a subject of dignity and respect. The virility and integrity of our civilization rests on the acceptance of this fundamental fact of creation, coupled with the fact of man's redemption by Jesus Christ; hidden persuasion must always be brought to the light and, indeed, persuasion of all kinds must be clearly labeled and identifiable, for man has been endowed with intelligence and the capacity to make a choice - and only by exercising that capacity can man assist our civilization under God to retain its virility and integrity.

IV

WHAT IS THE FUTURE FOR FOOD AND RAW MATERIAL PRODUCER: SOME ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND ETHICAL PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURAL PRICE SUPPORTS, NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY

By

Prof. Kenneth Boulding

The basic long run problem of the food producer - and to a lesser extent of the producer of all raw materials - is that in a progressive society his industry is constantly declining in size, relative to the whole economy, and the proportion of the population in it is shrinking. Paradoxically enough, the more efficient the food producer becomes the less need there is for him. This is because the demand for food is relatively inelastic. In a primitive society the food producer can produce only about enough food for himself and his family; there is no opportunity for specialisation, for industry, or for cities. Civilisation comes with agriculture and the consequent food surplus. If the food producer can produce enough for two families then one family can stay on the farm and there will be food for another family in the city. In the "post-civilised" society towards which we are rapidly moving, the food producer can produce enough food for twenty families. This means that only 5% of the population need be in agriculture. In the United States, for instance, the proportion of the labour force engaged in agriculture has declined from something like 90% at the time of the revolution to a little over 10% today. There is only one way to get people out of a declining industry, however, and that is to make it less attractive than the expanding ones. This is the most fundamental explanation of why incomes in agriculture have been less than in the expanding sectors of the economy for a long time. The faster people move out of agriculture, however, the less the disparity in income needs to be. The problem is complicated in many places by the fact that agriculture has a higher natural rate of increase of population than the rest of the society. Consequently even if the proportion of people in agriculture did not change people would still have to move out of it.

Something of the same problem of adjustment is faced by other industries An old mining industry, for instance, which is facing exhaustion or is facing the competition of newer and more efficient mines is in much the same position as agriculture. Industries like the textile industry likewise face becoming a smaller proportion of the total economic activity and likewise tend to be depressed in income. A similar problem which one hopes will become important is that of the defence industry faced by world disarmament!

There are several things which complicate this simple picture, especially when we look at it on a world scale. The food producer, for instance, frequently has a "colonial" or inferior status either internally or in the world society. There are important historic reasons for this. Civilisation, as the

name suggests, is essentially the work of cities. It almost inevitably involves a sharp cultural distinction between the people of the city and the people of the country, with the city people in the dominant position. We have only to reflect on the derivation of words like "civil", "urbane", by contrast with "rustic" to see the extent of this cultural gulf. It is only as we have been moving into post-civilised society, especially in the United States, that this distinction is being obliterated; in the northern states at any rate rural life has virtually disappeared as a sub-culture. The farm home is indistinguishable from the suburban home, except for the appurtinences of the occupation; there is, that is to say, an occupational sub-culture of farming but there is no rural sub-culture left; the same thing I am sure is rapidly happening in Europe with the coming of the automobile and the bus. You can't keep them down on the old kind of farm now that everybody can see Paris!

Historically the first impact of the world civilised economy on undeveloped areas is the development of a colonial agriculture relying often on the plantation as an essential unit of production. In some cases this also has involved slavery. Sugar, coffee, cotton, tea and rubber have all made their contribution to the development of plantation economies. There has been an additional difficulty here besides the general difficulties of agriculture as an ultimately declining industry. The special difficulty is that colonial agriculture is established in areas where, for various historical reasons, the efficiency of labour is low in the society at large. Consequently wages in the plantations have been low and there has not been much incentive to mechanise. We see a striking difference, for instance, between the sugar industry in a place like Hawaii where it has to compete with high paid industrial labour and the sugar industry in the West Indies or in Asia or Africa, where it can get along with very low paid labour because of the general conditions in the society in which it operates.

It is a curious paradox that the very "colonial" position of the food producer seems to have given him in the 20th century considerable bargaining power. In almost all the industrial countries the political power of agriculture seems to have risen as the proportion of people engaged in it has declined. This is particularly noticeable in the United States where agriculture has received a very large amount of government support since the 1930's. It is almost equally noticeable, however, in many European countries. In part this can only be explained in terms of sentiment. We are all presumably paying some kind of homage to our agricultural ancestors. This very sentimentality, however, has resulted in some very bad policies, even in the colonial empires. We now find that the colonies are able to "exploit" the mother countries and become recipients of large grants from them as well as protected markets for their products. The decline of colonialism in the 20th century may not be unconnected with the fact that the colony has become a burden to the mother country rather than a source of support. It is particularly noticeable in Europe, for instance, that the small countries that have stayed at home and minded their own business have generally done better economically than those that went out for expensive empires. We need only contrast the per capita incomes of Switzerland and Portugal to see the truth of this proposition.

A further complication in the situation of the food producer is that he seems to have been, in the past at any rate, peculiarly exposed to the fluctuations of the business cycle. The general pattern of the business cycle was for agricultural prices to fall and agricultural output to stay up in the depression, whereas industrial prices stayed up and industrial output fell. One of the major consequences of a depression, therefore, was a sharp worsening of the terms of trade of agriculture. The farmer produced just as much as before but got much less for it, mainly, of course because the things he should have got were simply not being produced. This problem was particularly acute for small or colonial territories which were largely dependent on the export of agricultural products. Their history is a long succession of booms and busts. An additional complication is that extreme specialisation on a particular product, for instance, cocoa in West Africa or bananas in the Caribbean often led to a kind of revenge on the part of nature through the rapid spread of devastating plant disease.

The very uncertainties of the world market often led to technical stagnation especially among small peasant producers. It is obviously not worthwhile investing in expensive capital equipment if the market may be expected to take a turn for the worse any time. This accounts for at least part of the backwardness of peasant agriculture dependent on world markets. On the other hand too much protection against market forces can also lead to stagnation and backwardness, and a failure to make adjustments and seize new opportunities.

Attempted Solutions.

Attempts to do "justice" to agriculture has led to a wide variety of agricultural policies. In almost all countries a very common policy has been some sort of price support aimed at raising the price of agricultural products above what the unprotected market would yield. There are two general forms of price support; one is a support through government purchase or its equivalent at a fixed price; the other is support through the payment of a subsidy to the farmer which represents the difference between the actual market price which he receives and the support price. Either of these policies can succeed for a time in raising the incomes of farmers above what they otherwise would have been. They do this, however, at a heavy cost. Price supports through government purchase almost inevitably involve the accumulation of surpluses, for the farmers are encouraged to produce more than can be consumed. Support through direct subsidy or income payment avoids this difficulty but it may be an equally unstable system. Both methods of support may have the effect of preventing a necessary exodus from agriculture. Consequently the extent of support continually has to increase. Under government purchases the government piles up larger and larger surpluses; under a system of subsidies, the subsidies get larger and larger every year. Neither of these things can go on for ever and eventually the system breaks down and the state of the farmer is then worse than ever. The support has temporarily prevented a decline in income but it has done so at the cost of preventing the long run adjustment and the long run exodus from agriculture which is the only way of

ensuring either decent incomes for agriculture or the spread of the benefits of agricultural progress throughout society.

Price supports can be criticised also from the point of view of economic justice although the case is usually made out for them on the grounds that farmers are poor and should be supported. The effect of price supports is always to help the rich farmer more than the poor one. Personal poverty in agriculture is much more a result of low productivity than it is of low prices. The difference between the rich farmer and the poor one is not so much that the rich one gets the better price but that the rich one produces a lot and the poor one very little. The great problem of poverty in agriculture is that of the small subsistence farmer who produces practically nothing for the market. If a man has nothing to sell it matters very little at what price he doesn't sell it! The attempt to "help agriculture" by raising agricultural prices therefore has the effect of distorting the income in agriculture towards the rich. When the United States Department of Agriculture pays out cheques of hundreds of thousands of dollars to single farmers, the claim that this is helping the poor becomes a little thin.

Another attempt at a solution has been the development of protected market areas, especially as between colonial dependencies and their metropolitan countries. The peculiar partitioning of the world sugar market is a good example. These arrangements undoubtedly provide some income protection for the producers in colonial areas. Again, however, they may do this at the cost of preventing timely adjustments which are all the more difficult when they finally have to be made. Arrangements which attempt to regulate the world markets through the use of national export quotas are particularly open to criticism. The quota is a generally pernicious economic device if it is applied to individual producers, as in the case of some of the British marketing schemes and in the case of the tobacco industry of the United States. It simply amounts to a freezing of an existing structure, and a free gift by society to those people who happen to be in the industry at the time the quotas were imposed. The quotas themselves become purely artificial pieces of property and any new producer entering the industry must pay a toll to those who are already in it. It is hard to defend this on the grounds of either justice or of progress, for it almost always leads to technical stagnation. The whole economic development of Cuba, for instance, was sharply arrested by the way in which the sugar quota was divided among all the existing estates, thus freezing an obsolete structure of a declining industry.

It is clear that great dilemmas face the policy maker in this area, and especially the policy maker who is guided by Christian ideals. On the one hand there is a legitimate feeling that the food and raw material producer has through the course of history suffered severe injustices. He has usually had lower and less secure incomes than those of the industrial worker, the employer or the professional. He has often had a "colonial" status which is inconsistent with the Christian ideal of the equality of all men in the sight of God. It is not surprising, therefore, that Christian social doctrine has frequently looked with a favourable eye on interferences with the market

economy in this regard, both national and international. Much of the moral impulse towards agricultural policy in many countries can be traced to the influence of a Christian culture. The prophetic tradition in the Bible is a direct protest of outraged rurality against urban vice. Even the New Testament, though it moves in a society much more urbane and citified than the more primitive world of the Old Testament, still retains a flavour of cornfields, fishermen and village life. This rural flavour is perhaps an accident rather than an essence of Christianity, but it has had important historical consequences. St. Paul, of course, we remember was a "citizen of no mean city" and he gave Christianity an urban stamp (all his Epistles, for instance, were written to city folk) which has largely determined its subsequent pattern. Nevertheless the influence both of the Gospels and of the Prophets is to create a certain rural nostalgia. What is known sometimes as "agrarian fundamentalism" - the doctrine that there is something peculiarly virtuous and sacred about rural life and therefore that any decline in the proportion of people in rural occupations is to be deplored - is not unconnected with biblical religion.

There seems to be a real paradox here between the claims of justice and the needs for adjustment. If we try to satisfy the claims for justice by distorting the distribution in income in favour of agriculture, we may end up by defeating our own purposes because we prevent the adjustment in the distribution of resources which technical progress has made necessary. This is not an argument against giving aid to agriculturalists; it is an argument against giving aid to agriculture. One of the most basic fallacies of economic policy is the attempt to do justice to commodities rather than to people. In fact justice can only be done to people. There is a lot to be said for society helping the poor; there is most to be said for ways of helping the poor which will help them to become richer and more productive. In the case of agriculture often the most effective way of helping the farmer is to help him to become something else. A policy of assistance to agriculture which was directed mainly to getting people out of it would be much sounder than most present policies which are designed to keep people in it. I am not arguing that free markets and laissez-faire will take care of all our problems, the market is only one way of organising human activity and there are many areas of life where it is not appropriate and has to be modified. Where it is appropriate, however, it should be used. There is nothing intrinsically evil in it. In particular the kind of policy which prevents the market from performing its function while at the same time it provides no better means of allocating resources, is the worst of all possible worlds. If the enlightened Christian conscience can be aroused against quota systems, against price supports and for "people supports", it can make an important contribution to the development of sounder economic policies. The general conclusion could be summed up by saying that policies should be "people centered" and not "product centered".